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***The Shimbun AKAHATA***

## **Islam Needs Tenets that Reflect Contemporary Reality**

Interview with KH. Yahya Cholil Staquf, General Secretary, Nahdlatul Ulama Supreme Council

By Inoue Ayumi, Jakarta | March 22, 2019

Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)—the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, with over 50 million followers—has dispatched its former leader, Ma'ruf Amin, to be Indonesian President Joko Widodo's vice presidential running mate in April's hotly-contested elections. Current NU General Secretary, Kyai Haji Yahya Cholil Staquf, explained to *Shimbun Akahata* why Nahdlatul Ulama, a moderate organization that has traditionally kept its distance from politics, has decided to return to the political scene, and the deep concerns the NU has about the severe crises facing the Muslim world.

### **What follows are Mr. Staquf's remarks to *Shimbun Akahata*:**

When Indonesia gained independence, it was established not as an Islamic state or a theocracy, but as a multi-religious and pluralistic nation state (NKRI) on the basis of "*Pancasila*" ("the Five [Foundational] Principles"), *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ("Oneness Amid Diversity") and its 1945 Constitution. Nevertheless, at the time of independence the future status of the nation and its constitution were the subject of intense debate. Many Muslims aspired for Indonesia to become either an Islamic state, or one in which Islam was granted preeminent status.

Islamism—an aspiration among Muslim extremists to attain political domination, so that a fundamentalist interpretation of Islamic texts can be imposed on society through the state—conflicts with our socio-cultural reality and has been a constant source of tension in Indonesia. When Islam came to Indonesia, it was accepted freely and adapted to local circumstances in a way that fostered social harmony and did not conflict with pre-existing *Nusantara* (East Indies) civilization. We Indonesians have been fighting against Muslim extremists for centuries, and we have always won.

## **Challenges to Pluralism**

Islamism has begun to rise again in recent years and spread to Indonesian society in new ways, posing a threat to NKRI. We will always stand against Islamism, and this election is not just about choosing a president, but preserving pluralism and Pancasila.

The Islamist aspiration for political dominance is an intrinsic part of Islamic orthodoxy, an array of theological doctrines accepted by the majority of Muslims as the most authoritative religious reference standard. There are many problematic tenets within the orthodoxy relating to, for example, the status of women. However, our main concern is global peace and security, and regarding this we have identified four problematic tenets that are of particular concern:

First, the “norm of enmity,” which encourages Muslims to segregate themselves from non-Muslims, treat them with suspicion and consider them enemies.

Second, that the establishment of a single, universal Islamic state, or Caliphate, should be the ultimate political goal and aspiration of all Muslims.

Third, that laws derived from modern political processes are “man-made” and therefore illegitimate and should be replaced with classical Islamic law, commonly referred to as *shari’ah*.

Fourth, that it is obligatory for all Muslims to participate in any armed conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims.

## **Fundamental Change is Needed**

When Islamists attempt to implement these problematic tenets, it naturally leads to conflict with the current reality of world civilization, which is based on modern, secular nation states with equal rights for all citizens. The Islamist political project can only bring disaster, not only for Muslims, but humanity as a whole. Now, because these problematic tenets do in fact exist within Islamic orthodoxy, Islamist radicals and terrorists can always find fertile ground among Muslim communities throughout the world.

The spiritual leadership of Nahdlatul Ulama believes that if these problematic tenets retain theological authority and thus remain integral to Islamic orthodoxy, then it will be impossible to permanently resolve the Islamist threat, which is why we cannot address these problems by confining ourselves to isolated, domestic efforts. In recent years, we have issued a number of declarations addressing these issues and have stated that:

“Preserving Indonesia’s unique civilizational heritage—which gave birth to NKRI as a multi-religious and pluralistic nation state—requires the successful implementation of a global strategy to develop a new Islamic orthodoxy that reflects the actual

circumstances of the modern world in which Muslims must live and practice their faith.”  
[Nusantara Manifesto, point 38]

A majority of contemporary Muslims remain trapped within a mental framework, informed by Islamic orthodoxy, that views Islam as inherently political [i.e., supremacist]. If we are to see the emergence of a global civilization in which people of every faith and nation—including Muslims—live, learn, love and work side by side, then we must change direction and address these issues.

# しんぶん 赤旗

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## インドネシアの選択

### 2019大統領選



5000万人以上の支持者を持つといわれるインドネシア最大のイスラム教組織「ナフダトール・ウラマ」(NU)は今回の大統領選挙で、最高指導者のマアルフ・アミンを現職ジョコ氏とペアを組む副大統領候補に送り出しました。政治と一線を画してきた穏健派のNUが再び表舞台に出た理由と、インドネシアの穏健派が深く懸念するイスラム世界の問題点について、NU幹事長でイスラム法学者のヤヒヤ・チョリル・スタクフ氏に聞きました。

(ジャカルタ 井上歩 写真も)

イスラム団体幹事長 ヤヒヤ・チョリル・スタクフ氏語る

## 現実反映の教義必要

では、イスラム教に基づく国家やイスラム教に特別の地位を与えることを目指す思想や野心との激しい論争がありました。

特定の宗教解釈を社会や政治で施行させたなどの政治的野心、あるいはイスラム主義は、文化や社会に適した形でイスラムを受け入れてきたこの国で、繰り返した社会との緊張を生んできました。私たちは何世紀にもわたってたたかいてきた、勝利してきました。

### 多元主義の危機

近年再びイスラム主義が台頭し、新しく多様な形態で社会に拡散され、多民族の統一国家を脅かしています。私たちはそれに立ち向かわなくてはなりません。

イスラム主義 一般に、イスラム教の原理的な解釈にもとづき、イスラム教による政治・社会の統治を求める思想やその運動を指します。原理主義、急進主義、過激主義と呼ばれることもあります。

### 根本的な改革を

政治的支配権を獲得しようとするイスラム主義の野心は、今も世界中のムスリム(イスラム教徒)に、最も権威のあるイスラムの宗教規範・ガイダンスだと信じられている「イスラム教オールドキシー(正統派)」の宗教解釈に備わっているものです。

イスラム教正統派には女性の地位など多くの問題点があります。私たちが特に世界の平和と安全にかかわる懸念から、4点の問題ある教義を指摘しています。

①非ムスリム(イスラム教徒でない者)を差別と憎悪の対象とし、敵視するの世界単一のイスラム国家樹立を究極の政治目標に持つ②国家法・人定法を神の法ではないと否定する③ムスリムがた

今回の選挙は、大統領を選出するだけでなく、パンチャシラと多元主義を守る選挙でもあります。

政治的支配権を求めれば、現実の世界、近代の国民国家との衝突に至ります。ムスリムにも人類全体にも惨事を招くだけです。実際、これらの問題ある教義が存在するために、急進主義やテロリストがムスリムの中に肥沃(ひよく)な土壌を見い出しています。

NUは、このような教義がイスラム世界の宗教的権威であり続ける限り、国内努力だけでイスラム主義の脅威を解決することはできないと考えました。近年、さまざまな宣言を出し、「現代世界の現実を反映した新しいイスラム教正統派が形成されなければならぬ」と呼び掛けています。古い教義にとらわれてしまっているムスリムが、人類文明と未来をもつ方向へと、変わらなければなりません。

(おわり)